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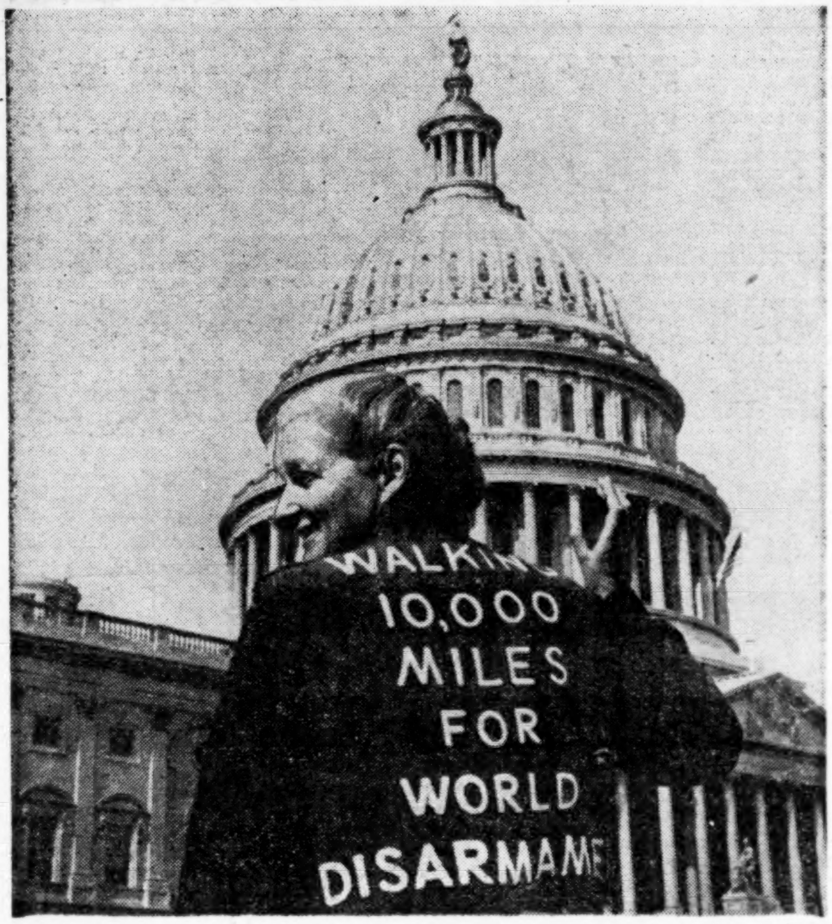

A LONE CRUSADER WITH THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND ON HER BACK
Peace Pilgrim—that's the only name she gives—arrives in a capital deserted by office seekers in her pilgrimage to inspire America to work for peace. She reached Washington after a 9,500-mile trek on foot. She has five more states to go, she said. The candidates cover more ground more quickly; but they say much less.

UPHEAVAL IN POLAND

Gomulka restored in headlong drive for independence

By Kumar Goshal

THE SEEDS of "socialist democracy" and "many roads to socialism," planted at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, bore striking fruit in Poland last week. Restored to his post as first secy. of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, after several years' imprisonment as a "Titoist," Wladyslaw Gomulka said on Oct. 20: "The roads to socialism may be various . . . Every country has the right to be sovereign and independent. I would say it begins to be so."

Poland has been undergoing a "democratization" upheaval for some time. Intellectuals, students, workers and farmers have of late been outspokenly critical of mistakes and injustices perpetrated by the "bureaucratic" government. The Polish press has accorded utmost freedom to its writers. Gomulka was completely freed in April, readmitted to the CP in July. The fair and open trial of the Poznan rioters dramatically displayed the rapid pace of "democratization" in Poland.

SURPRISE VISIT: The climax came as top CP leaders held a Central Committee meeting in the Council of Ministers building at 10 a.m. on Oct. 19. As the first order of the meeting, Gomulka and three of his closest associates were speedily reelected members of the Central Committee. Then the Politburo members submitted their resignations. A Central Committee member quickly offered a motion to elect Gomulka as CP first secy. as well as to elect a new Politburo.

Before the motion could be acted upon, the current first secy. Ochab announced that Soviet CP first secy. Khrushchev, accompanied by deputy premiers Molotov, Mikoyan and Kaganovich, had just arrived in Warsaw and were on their way to Belvedere Palace. At Ochab's suggestion, the top Polish CP leaders—including Gomulka—adjourned the Central Committee meeting and went to confer with the Soviet leaders.

VISITORS DEPART: After a six-hour conference, the Polish leaders returned to the Council of Ministers building and held a long discussion. At 11 p.m., they again met the Soviet leaders for three hours. Early the next morning, Khrushchev and the Soviet deputy premiers returned to Moscow.

During their day-long meeting Oct. 20, the Polish CP Central Committee elected Gomulka as CP first secy. and a new nine-man Politburo. The new Politburo consisted of Gomulka supporters, including former first secy. Ochab and Premier Cyrankiewicz. Conspicuous among those who failed of reelection to the Politburo were Defense Minister Marshal Rokossovsky, a Polish-born Russian, and Zenon Nowak, who was alleged to have made disparaging remarks about too many Jews holding top positions.

News of the Soviet leaders' arrival at Warsaw set off a spate of wild rumor, speculation and wishful thinking in the Western press, reminiscent of press reaction to the recent Tito-Khrushchev meetings.

THE RUMORS: It was rumored that Soviet leaders were panicked by the "headlong pace of democratization" in Poland and had rushed to Warsaw to prevent Gomulka's rise to power and to support and maintain the status quo in the Polish government. It was claimed that Polish workers and students had gone on sitdown strikes against Moscow's interference in their affairs, and that Gomulka supporters had taken over the Warsaw

(Continued on Page 9)

BULGANIN AND THE BOMB

Ban on H-tests becomes the hottest campaign issue

By Elmer Bendiner

TWO WEEKS before election day the candidates for the Presidency were juggling the hydrogen bomb and Nikolai Bulganin. Both were touchy and called for careful handling.

Adlai Stevenson's discovery of the campaign's "sleeper" issue, halting hydrogen bomb testing, was undoubtedly the shrewdest stroke of the campaign. Last April Stevenson said he favored "prompt and earnest consideration to stopping further tests of the hydrogen bomb." He explained then that if the Russians did not follow our lead in discontinuing the tests we could resume testing on short notice.

MODIFICATION: In the course of California campaigning, when it was impossible to stir anything resembling popular enthusiasm, Stevenson experimentally revived his proposal on the bomb and found that he brought down the house with it. The H-bomb was thereupon made into the prime campaign issue, though the April proposal was watered down in the process. It finally came out as a campaign promise which Stevenson hoped would be as effective as Eisenhower's 1952 pledge to go to Korea. Stevenson said that if elected he would make it "the first order of business" to secure an international agreement banning H-bomb tests. If the Russians broke the agreement, he said, we would know it because H-bomb explosions cannot be concealed, and we would be free to continue our tests.

Stevenson's adviser, Thomas K. Finletter, former secy. of the Air Force and presently co-chairman of the Citizens Committee for Stevenson, Kefauver and Wagner, made it clear in an article in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (10/9) that "Gov. Stevenson was not calling flatly for the stopping of these tests." He said the Stevenson proposal would allow for the present research program into mass destruction up to the point of actual testing. He wrote: "Let me emphasize again that no

(Continued on Page 4)

JAPANESE FIGHT U. S. AIRBASE EXPANSION

800 hurt as police battle farm defenders

By Shingo Shibata
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

AN ATTEMPT by the U.S. Air Force stationed in Japan to expand its Tachikawa Airbase created a national tragedy this month at the tiny farming town of Sunakawa, near Tokyo. Nearly 800 were injured as 2,000 steel-helmeted police, during a cold drizzle on Oct. 13, launched a long and bloody assault on 4,000 workers, farmers and students in trying to clear the way for a government team to the survey site.

Sunakawa's farmers, supported by trade union members and students, had gathered peacefully to defend their land. They were led by 15 Socialist Diet (Parliament) members, Communist Party first secy. Sanzo Nosaka and Councillor Masao Iwama and several Buddhist priests beating drums to keep up the spirit of the defenders. The sight of the venerable priests stopped the police only momentarily; they clubbed priests and ordinary people alike, as U.S. Globemaster planes from the nearby airbase circled overhead.

ARMORED CARS: Farmland was trampled under foot, crops were damaged, blood stained the white robes of the priests and spilled on the muddy road—but the line of resistance held firm. The police finally used armored cars to lead a charge against the people, in which even the medical unit of the defenders and press correspondents and cameramen were injured. Even then the police had to carry many of the defenders away bodily before a path could be cleared for the survey team. The action took place only 50 yards from the U.S. base.

Protected by a police wall, the surveyors moved into the farmland condemned

(Continued on Page 7)

Inside This Issue

SMITH ACT
The Puerto Rico trial . p. 3
HARLEM SPEAKS
Sidewalk interviews . p. 4
U. S. INDIANS
The bid for their votes p. 5
ISRAEL
The fight for water . . p. 7
W. E. B. DUBOIS
Padmore's new book . p. 10

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REPORT TO READERS

A thing of beauty . .

WE HAVE BEEN SO CHARMED by the exclusive drawings done for us by the artist Chittaprosad of India for the GUARDIAN's holiday cards this year (see P. 5) that we have just mailed a sample card to every subscriber. You should be getting yours this week if it has not already arrived. Advance orders are now coming in, and some people have already hit upon the idea of saving out one each of the five designs for framing—they're that special.

India's top writer and critic, Mulk Raj Anand (**Two Leaves and a Bud**), writes this about Chittaprosad's work:

"The drawings, linocuts and woodcuts of this highly talented artist might easily be mistaken for the work of the village artisan if we did not know that the vitality of his line derives from the conscious alliance by a trained draughtsman with survivals of folk tradition in the villages, particularly of Bengal . . .

"Perhaps the miracle might happen that the American public will for the first become aware of the authentic life of innermost India . . . and begin to appreciate nuances of the tragic but beautiful people of our land."

CHITTAPROSAD is perhaps the outstanding disciple in India today of the revivalist resurgence in art led by artist Nandalal Bose and the late, great philosopher-poet Rabindranath Tagore. Their effort was to peel off the effects of two centuries of British domination of their country's self-expression and bring indigenous culture to the forefront.

Chittaprosad came from a family in Bengal that wanted him to be a doctor, typist clerk, civil servant, anything that would make money. Correctly enough, they figured art would not make money. But he took off after an art career anyway, leaving home with sketchbook and pencil for Calcutta. There he was unable to get into the existing art schools and finally had to learn his craft traveling among the folk artists and clay-image makers back in the villages of Bengal.

Now his works, first shown in this country in 1955, win high praise from the art critics, but they don't make him enough money to live on. So like many artists of our acquaintance, he has had to go "commercial"—he designs textiles. Just for good measure, each of our Chittaprosad holiday cards contains, on its inside greeting page, one of his textile designs for decor.

You'll love them all, we're sure.

(Aside to Toni, Maplewood, N.J.: No, the order blank on the back of your sample Holiday Card will not appear on the cards you order.)

•

THE MOMENTOUS EVENTS in the eastern world this month, as indeed during this whole year, are whetting the appetites hereabouts for the return in the next few weeks of the GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran from her many months of travel in the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia as well as France, Italy and Egypt.

From the way things are shaping up, though, it appears that you readers in Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco may all hear her reports before we have much of a chance to sit down with her here in the office.

Present plans call for her to speak in Chicago Nov. 30, Detroit during the next week, L.A. Friday, Dec. 7, and San Francisco Friday, December 14. Further visits may be arranged for her enroute back from the West Coast, but it now looks as if New Yorkers will have to wait until January for her long-promised appearance there.

We'll keep you posted. Meanwhile, watch the ads for full information about all meetings. **—THE GUARDIAN**

THE MAIL BAG

Write to Adlai

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Stevenson's declaration in favor of an international ban on H-bomb tests should bring action by everyone who desires peace.

The Republicans have attacked Stevenson for this stand. It is imperative that he should hear immediately from countless thousands of voters commending him for it. If we convince him that specific and forthright peace proposals win him approval by the voters—and only if we so convince him—we can hope to get from nim further commitments and additional stress on peace. And if Stevenson presses this issue the Republicans will be forced to counter with specific pledges on their part, rather than peace generalizations. We can make definite peace commitments an issue in this campaign.

Will you enlist in getting letters to Stevenson? I suggest that we start a chain campaign. Write your letter to Stevenson, c/o Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C. (You need not necessarily promise to vote for him, but commend him for his stand against atomic tests.) Then send copies of this letter of mine, or a similar statement in your own words, to at least two friends. To get a wide spread of letters I suggest that one of them be in some state other than your own. Spread the idea, also, by phone and word of mouth.

Florence H. Luscomb

Vote the rascals out

FALLON, NEV.

If there is no difference in the two old parties, I say in that case vote against the party that is in power. If they are kept in power they will think we approve of the way they are running things. And do that every election until we have someone of our own choosing to vote for.

I am going to vote Democratic whether it does any good or not this year. **Otto M. Sander**

Forget lesser-evil talk

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We are a very suggestible people. We believe in propaganda, it may be for cigarettes, deodorants, politicians or presidents. This causes lack of objectivity and realism. I voted for Wallace in 1948 because I was convinced that Truman didn't have a chance at all. The vote for Wallace in N.Y. State made a difference of 94 electoral votes and could have made Dewey our President.

Now I do not want to do anything which may help the Republicans. I am convinced that Stevenson is the most able, the most honest politician since F.D.R. Of course, he has to make the concessions during the campaign, he has to consider the Dixiecrats, the undecided Middle-of-the-Roaders. Every one, the world over, knows that China will become a member of the UN after the elections are over, but no politician can admit it now.

Stevenson's fight against the H-bomb tests and the draft proves how he thinks about peace and co-existence. He can't do more without committing political suicide. Let us forget the talk about the lesser evil. Every vote not for Stevenson is a vote for Ike-Nixon-Dulles.

John H. Beck

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Gloomy dispositions in Russia may simply be a matter of poor mattresses, according to John W. Hubbell, a mattress company executive who returned yesterday from a tour of the Soviet Union. Mr. Hubbell, a vice-president of the Simmons Co., 230 Park Ave., declared that "Russia is not sleeping properly."

—N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 10/15

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: E. B., New York City. Be sure to send original clipping with date.

Grants-in-aid

GRANTS, N. MEX.

The electoral college and phony nominating conventions should be changed to direct primaries in the 48 states and a popular vote for President. This great nation should also let the 18-year-olds vote if they can be put on the battlefield at 18.

I am enclosing $110, the $100 to help the Elephant get back to the golf course, the $10 for Vincent Hallinan for president and Paul Robeson for vice-president on the future Progressive ticket. Maybe others will send dollars and tens and up to make it a straight $1,000,000.

John Bender

Support for Dobbs

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

In letters to the GUARDIAN we have urged liberals and progressives who wish to vote for peace, civil rights and civil liberties to cast their votes for Farrell Dobbs, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for President. We have advocated this course because the platforms and candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties (1) say nothing whatsoever on civil liberties; (2) refuse to enforce the Constitution with respect to the civil rights of the Negro people, and (3) carry on the bankrupt policies of the cold war.

We believe as we have stated in our press articles that it is a mistake not to vote, and it is worse than a mistake to vote for either the Democratic or Republican party candidates, and that it is time for those who profess devotion to socialism to vote for a socialist.

Neither of us is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and we have certain disagreements with some of its formulations. The fact remains however that that party takes an unequivocal stand for civil liberties, civil rights and labor's rights and opposes the cold war.

It is our belief that there should be united support of all left and liberal forces who believe in independent political action for Mr. Dobbs' candidacy. Thus the ground work can be laid for a united front of all left-wing forces, including the Socialist Workers Party, immediately following the 1956 elections, for a new and dynamic independent political movement which will seek a socialist solution for America.

Will you join us in forming an independent Committee for Mr. Dobbs in the 1956 election? It is our intention to issue a statement to the press once the Committee is formed. We would also very much appreciate it if you would let us know your views with respect to the need for a rebuilding of an independent American socialist movement.

Vincent Hallinan
345 Franklin St.
San Francisco 2, Calif.

Clifford McAvoy
144 Willow St.
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

Daily Mirror, London

"Look at it this way, a raise for you means a cut for me."

German example

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In 1925 there were elections for the presidency in Germany. The first ballot was not decisive. In the second the Social Democrats backed the candidate of the Center party against the candidate of the Right, Hindenburg. The Communist Party, which held the balance of power, went through its "ultra-left" fit. (One leader at the time—Ruth Fischer—is now in the U.S. expiating her youthful "sins" by anti-communist hysteria). Consequently, the CP opposed both capitalist candidates and backed its own candidate—Thaelmann. The result: Hindenburg won and the Left in Germany was split further in the years to come, which opened the road to fascism and war. . .

The Left in the U. S. today is confronted—even taking into account all the differences of place and time—with a similar dilemma. Should it try to influence the real course of events or be confined to the position of sectarian intransigeancy?

We can, of course, make a perfect case by showing that the Republicans and the Democrats are against labor and the Negro people, for the witch-hunt and cold war. As propaganda this would be correct, but as politics it would be an irretrievably wrong attitude.

The Democrats, like the Republicans, are a capitalist party but they represent the less monopolistic segments of the American bourgeoisie. Therefore they are more responsive to the pressure of the workers, farmers and plain people and are more inclined to social reforms (the New Deal was introduced by Democrats).

Even taking for granted that both parties support the armaments race, the fact remains that the Democrats have not in their midst the "China Lobby" and atom-bomb adventurers, as the Republicans do.

Above all, let's not forget that the large majority of American labor endorsed the Democratic ticket. All our hope lives in the perspective that the millions of American workers organized in the unions will realize that the only way to present their interests is through the formation of an independent labor party. But the American workers cannot be taught this lesson by propaganda and avant garde action. They will learn only through their own experience.

It seems to me that the only way for the independent American Left is to vote for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket, with reservations, leaving the way for independent expressions in voting for local candidates. **A. R.**

Help wanted

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Bad enough it is to frisk the

(Continued on p. 8)

IT MAY ROCK THE ISLAND—AND MORE

The Smith Act trial in Puerto Rico

By Elmer Bendiner

ON NOV. 2 NINE MEN and two women will go on trial in a language foreign to them under a law passed by a government in which they are not represented. If convicted they will be imprisoned in a country not their own. The law is the Smith Act—receiving its first test as an export item. The defendants are citizens of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Their trial will test the independence of their country and U. S. pretensions that it keeps no colonies.

The trial had been scheduled for Oct. 15 but Federal District Judge Clemente Ruiz Nazarlo granted a postponement to allow defense counsel David Shapiro of New York to prepare more fully for what may be one of the most decisive legal battles in Puerto Rican and Smith Act history. Shapiro entered the case at the request of Socialist leader Norman Thomas and American Civil Liberties Union counsel Rowland Watts who wrote Shapiro it was important that defense counsel include "someone like yourself who has no sympathy for communist beliefs."

SIX-MONTH TRIAL: Also asking for the postponement were two court-appointed defense attorneys who are candidates for resident commissioner (voteless representative in the U. S. Congress) in the Nov. 6 elections. They are Marcos Ramirez of the Independence Party and Arturo Ortiz Toro of the Statehood Party. Still another defense attorney is Abraham Diaz Gonzales, former judge of Puerto Rico's Superior Court.

The San Juan daily **El Mundo** said the trial had been expected to last a year but procedures worked out by Judge Ruiz might cut the time down to six months.

The case began two years ago when the FBI arrested nine of the defendants in Puerto Rico, one in New York, and allegedly kidnaped another from Mexico. Bail was set at from $11,000 to $20,000 each. In a land where the average weekly wage is under $20, bail money was tough to raise. It took a year of doorbell ringing before the last defendant was bonded and freed.

THEY ARE YOUNG: The defendants are young; only one is over 45. Two are running for office in the November elections: for Senator, Pablo Garcia Rodriguez, 32, graduate of Harvard Law School and former student at the Sorbonne; for Representative, Juan Saez Corales, 40, former labor leader who still broadcasts a labor news commentary over a San Juan station when money can be raised for air time. Two others are no longer members of the CP: Juan Emmanuelli and Jane Speed de Andreu, the only "continental" among the defendants.

JUAN SAEZ CORALES
Trial in a foreign tongue

Mrs. de Andreu, wife of another defendant, Cesar Andreu Iglesias, comes from an old Alabama family which includes George Washington's private physician. Mrs. de Andreu grew up in Alabama where she took an active part in sharecropper and anti-jimcrow battles.

The other defendants are: Jorge Maysonet-Hernandez, 42; Consuelo Burgos, 38; Cesar Andreu Iglesias, 41; Ramon Mirabal Carrion, 43; Juan Santos Rivera, 53 (whose son is paralyzed from wounds suffered in Korea); Cristino Perez Mendez, 39; Eugenio Cuebas Arbona, 36.

NO LINK TO TERROR: Following the shooting up of the U. S. Congress by Puerto Rican nationalists early in 1954, several of the present defendants were indicted under a Puerto Rican law modeled after the Smith Act. Many evaded arrest and from varied places of refuge in Puerto Rico issued a stream of statements that made the front pages of San Juan dailies. Santos Rivera, Saez Corales and Garcia Rodriguez, in articles published in anti-communist **El Mundo** and **El Imparcial**, stated the CP's long-standing program for attaining independence and socialism by peaceful, democratic means. Popular sentiment, never as susceptible to anti-communist hysteria as the Continental U. S., swung behind the accused.

Police chief Salvador Roig admitted there was no evidence to link Communists to terrorism. An editorial in **El Imparcial** (3/18/54) asked what grounds remained for the indictment after the police chief's admission, and summed up: "We believe that the government is handling the case of the Communists very stupidly."

On the day of **El Imparcial's** editorial most of the CP leaders surrendered. Five days later the charges were dropped and they were freed. Six months later they were arrested again, but this time by U. S. Federal agents. The matter had been taken out of the hands of Puerto Ricans. With a Smith Act indictment, charging a "conspiracy to teach and advocate" the violent overthrow of the U. S. government, FBI men rounded up the 11, some of them in dawn raids on sleeping families.

A FOREIGN TONGUE: Though the political climate of Puerto Rico is less flammable than that surrounding other Smith Act cases in the U. S., the trial will impose all the burdens of colonial procedure.

The defendants, standing trial for political offenses in their own land, will have to rely on translators, for the language of the Federal Court is English, not Spanish. Few of the defendants know English well and two of them, Santos Rivera and Mirabal Carrion, know scarcely a word of it.

Their judge owes his appointment to no one in Puerto Rico; he is appointed by the President of the U. S. The trial jury, like the grand jury which handed down the indictment, will be drawn only from those Puerto Ricans who speak English fluently. (The defendants charge that this excludes plain working people and others likely to be unprejudiced against the defendants.)

EXPLOSION AHEAD? In a motion to dismiss the case filed last week the defense summed up an issue that can rock the island and force many independence and trade union leaders to speak out. Before the trial is over Puerto Ricans may define more precisely the nature of their status as a commonwealth.

The defendants are charged with teaching and advocating the necessity of overthrowing the "government of the U.S. by force and violence in Puerto Rico and elsewhere." The dismissal motion argues that under the Commonwealth status, there can be no "government of the U.S. in Puerto Rico" and therefore nothing to overthrow.

The prosecution is boxed in by the motion. If it answers that there is a "government of the U.S." in the Island, then it must fly in the face of its own claims before the UN that Puerto Rico is self-governing. If it abandons that claim and holds that the charge means that the defendants conspired on Puerto Rican soil to overthrow the U.S. government in Washington, the Smith Act may be ruled applicable but the prosecution will run the risk of ridicule.

The defense is prepared to ask what "clear and present danger" can come to the U.S. government on the continent from a party with a total membership of 50 in a self-governing island, addressing itself exclusively to inhabitants of that island in Spanish.

Regards, Paris

The government cannot count on a popular sense of shock at radicalism. The trial, which tests U.S. liberties and U.S. colonial methods, has for its setting a land where "Bread, Land and Liberty" is still the slogan of the majority party and where nobody is antagonized by the word "revolution."

(In forthcoming issues the GUARDIAN will describe that setting and trace the Puerto Rican background for the trial.)

FREEDOM SOUGHT

Thompson undergoes new brain surgery

ROBERT THOMPSON, Communist Party leader serving a Smith Act sentence in Atlanta Penitentiary, underwent an emergency cranial operation there Oct. 12.

Thompson, who won the Distinguished Service Cross in World War II and was discharged with a 100% disability, was assaulted by an inmate of the N. Y. Federal House of Detention when he was held there in 1953. He suffered a severe brain injury and an emergency operation was performed to save his life. This involved the insertion of a metal plate in his skull. Last week dangerous complications developed in the area of the metal plate and it was removed.

A further operation on Thompson may be required within the next few months, according to his wife, Mrs. Leona Thompson, who went to Atlanta last week to await the outcome of the surgery. From there she wired President Eisenhower asking commutation of her husband's sentence. Thompson has served his three-year Smith Act sentence and part of the four-year contempt sentence added for his failure to surrender.

Last week he was reported in pain but recovering well from the operation. Thompson's war record and his rough handling in prison have made him the likeliest candidate for amnesty. Such requests must be made directly to the President.

NO HUMAN BEING should engage in an unsocial act. I believe the laws of behavior can be so arranged that man can develop to the utmost, and yet under such conditions as shall make an unsocial act highly improbable. At present, we seem unable to develop except at the expense of others. —CHARLES P. STEINMETZ

DEFEAT ADMITTED

Government drops its contempt case against Lamont

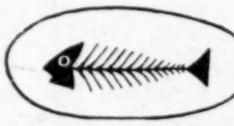
THE DEPT. OF JUSTICE on Oct. 15 abandoned its three-year effort to jail Dr. Corliss Lamont and two others on a contempt of Congress charge for refusing to answer questions before Sen. Joe McCarthy's Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in 1953. The government gave up the fight by failing to file an appeal from a unanimous U.S. Court of Appeals decision that the McCarthy committee had no authority for its "excursions . . . into the field of alleged subversive activities of non-governmental persons . . ."

Lamont and the other two, Albert Shadowitz and Abraham Unger, did not invoke the Fifth Amendment but held that the committee had no right to question them about their political views or their personal affairs.

Dr. Lamont, author and educator, was called before the committee because some of his writings had been used as source material for Army publications. He contended he had no knowledge of the Army's use of his work and that as a private citizen he was not subject to Congressional investigation.

THE "BEST TALENT": He was subsequently indicted and on April 28, 1955, voluntarily withdrew as a lecturer on philosophy from Columbia University pending outcome of the case. On July 27 that year Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld in New York dismissed the indictment on the ground that it failed to show any authority for the McCarthy committee to conduct such an inquiry.

Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.) promptly urged Atty. Gen. Brownell to assign his



"best talent" to draw up a new indictment and said he feared that if the Weinfeld decision stood, the autonomy and authority of Congressional investigating committees would be undermined. Instead of attempting to draft a new indictment, the Department decided to appeal Judge Weinfeld's ruling.

The unanimous decision of the Appeals Court was handed down on Aug. 14 this year. In addition to declaring that the McCarthy committee had had no authority for its probe of Lamont, it had some heavy criticism of the Dept. of Justice: "We have . . . the anomalous situation that the government is now attempting to hang onto and retain for trial indictments for offenses which it cannot support in law."

"VALUABLE PRECEDENT": Dr. Lamont returned to lecturing at Columbia last Sept. 28. On Oct. 16 he had this to say of the government's defeat:

"I congratulate the Dept. of Justice on having the good sense to drop this prosecution. What it means is that there now stands as definitive the unanimous decision of the Federal Court of Appeals stating that the McCarthy committee went beyond its authority in questioning me about my political opinions, my associations and my writings.

"I am very glad that my court battle has resulted finally in hammering another nail into the political coffin of Senator McCarthy.

"Even more important is that this decision lays down a valuable precedent for keeping Congressional investigating committees within legal and constitutional bounds. The House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee have persistently exceeded their authority under the Bill of Rights.

"These committees have been especially flagrant in violating the First Amendment. I hope that the opinion by the Federal Court of Appeals in my case will help put an end to illegal Congressional probes."

ABOUT THE ELECTION

How Harlem feels

By Eugene Gordon

THE STENTORIAN REMINDER from the Liberal Party sound truck was beginning to repeat when a woman behind said: "Mister, can you tell me, please, where I should go to register?" She was elderly, short, broad, black and tired. She wore dark clothes under an ankle-length black coat against chilly winds from the open spaces of St. Nicholas Houses. She slumped, as if her weary feet could hardly bear her weight.

A glance upward at the street sign placed us at 128th and 8th Av. The towering bulk of the housing project ranged, ahead, to 131st St. and, on the right, to 7th Av. Being on assignment to observe Harlem's attitude toward the election, I was glad she had picked me.

She lived on 130th beyond 7th Av. and had been variously advised to go "I don't know where." She was "so tired I don't feel like I could walk another step," but she was determined to find her registration place.

CRITICISM: Park benches stood along the curving walks inside the project. Would she sit, while I inquired around? But passersby, overhearing, directed us toward a basement in a part of the project facing 127th St. She leaned heavily on my arm. Walking with a kind of rolling gait, she complained of her aching feet and laid the blame on election officials. If they had posted registration and voting information in the lobbies or entrances of public dwellings people would have been encouraged to register.

I introduced myself. What I wanted to know, I said, was why persons of voting age had or had not registered; whom they would vote for and why. She said she was Mrs. Boyce, "and I've been voting ever since women have had the ballot." She asked coyly: "Can you guess my age?" I had imagined 80, but I said, "About 65?" She chuckled. "Thank you for the compliment. No—72. I've been living in New York since 1903."

"How will you vote, Mrs. Boyce?"

LET 'EM LAUGH: She gave me an oblique, twinkling glance. "You look like an intelligent young man," she flattered me, "so I don't guess you'll laugh at me. My friends, they laugh when I tell 'em the Democrats do more for us—I mean us colored—than anybody else." She chuckled again. "I don't care. Let 'em laugh."

The first President she ever voted for, she said, was . . . "What was the name of that man from Boston?" I suggested Coolidge. "Yes, he's the one. Well, Coolidge was the first President and the last Republican I ever voted for. You want to know why? Because I'm for the party that puts money in my pocketbook."

She worked 27 years for "the professors" at Columbia University, "keeping their books clean and in order on the library shelves." Her next job was as a domestic worker two days a week in midtown Manhattan. She still has it. "Maybe I wouldn't starve on what I get, but with my social security—and I got that from Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Democrat —I do pretty well."

HARMONY: I saw her into the registration place and returned outside to write my notes. A tall, slender brown man had been watching us from a park bench. Now he nodded, smiling. He would easily qualify in any best-dressed-man contest, I thought, joining him. The different shades of brown in his clothes were a study in harmony. He was Harry Maples, Democratic district captain.

When he was born 74 years ago, he said, on Greenwich Village's MacDougal St.—I noticed for the first time that his hair was graying—Negro Democrats were rarities. He helped organize New York's first Negro Democratic club for Roosevelt.

It was soon apparent to me that his love of harmony went beyond the sartorial: he was for the Democratic Party as a whole, he said. When reminded that Mississippi's Sen. Eastland is also a Democrat, he said a way must be found to eliminate the Eastlands from important Congressional committee chairmanships. But, "listen here," he said, "the Democrats have given the Negro more in one year than the Republicans have done since they have been a party."

BUDDIES: Philadelphia musician John Walker, visiting New York on business, just grunted when, some time later, I repeated Maples' statement. He said he could debate Maples on that point, but he offered only a personal reason for supporting Eisenhower: "I soldiered with him 'way back in the twenties, when he was a lieutenant down on the Mexican border and I was a buck private in the 24th Infantry." Any other reason? "Well, he has helped the vets."

"They better send those buses back to Chicago. I got on my walking shoes."
An on-the-spot sketch in Montgomery, Alabama, by Harvey Dinnerstein from his and Burt Silverman's recent "Artist as Reporter" show at the Davis Gallery in New York.

Sidewalk interviews in Manhattan's midtown West Side, Harlem and lower East Side and in Brooklyn's Boro Hall area shaped up like this: One of 22 persons questioned was uncertain about registering; 20 said they would vote Democratic. Most thought Rep. Powell's decision to support Eisenhower would sway few outside the Abyssinian Baptist Church congregation, of which the minister-Congressman is pastor. Views differed on whether Democrats or Republicans are the "war party." Following are various specific reactions to questions:

MAN IN THE STREET: "I'm going to vote Democratic," said driver James Goines as he unloaded his monster truck, "because I think it's important for the Negroes' advancement, that's all."

Harlem newsstand operator Alan Rand "wouldn't think" of staying home on election day. "I'm going to vote for Stevenson because he's the best of the two. What has he done? Hell! What have the Republicans done?" Yes, the civil rights issue was most important to Negroes, but the best way to get rid of men like Eastland and Georgia's Talmadge would be to unite with organized labor, "maybe for 1960" and a third party movement. However, "it wouldn't be a real third party [because] the two we got are so much alike they might as well be one." Both have been fooling the Negro voter "every four years for nearly 100 years."

DEMOCRATS & DICTATORS: Eugene Berry, Manhattan handyman, will vote Republican because "the Democrats is the war party." Had I ever noticed that whenever a Democrat became President of the U.S. a dictator "like Mussolini or Stalin" came to power "over there"? No; I hadn't noticed. "Well, you ought to notice things like that. I been noticing them for years, and I learned that the Democratic Administration gets together with this dictator and starts a war." Republicans are for peace, he said, and "peace means money in the pocket."

But Gene Norris, Harlem house painter, was going to vote Democratic, "naturally." Why naturally? "Because I figure they've done more for me than the Republicans. The Republicans are more likely to get us into war, messing 'round with their foreign policy. Besides, they're only for the rich people." But did he, really, notice much difference between the two parties? And how about the South?

"Well, when you come right down to it, there's not much difference except down South. And that's one thing that makes me wonder sometimes if I ought to keep on voting Democratic."

The election

(Continued from Page 1)

one is suggesting that we stop building more numbers of bombs." Finletter stressed: "Gov. Stevenson has made no proposal for unilateral abandonment of H-bomb tests."

CLARIFICATION: Similarly, Finletter made it clear that Stevenson was not being bold on the draft question, either. He interpreted his candidate's stand this way: "Gov. Stevenson's statement about military personnel and his hopes for eventual elimination of the draft were along the same lines as the President's. About the only difference I can make out between the two is that Gov. Stevenson has suggested a more urgent approach to the problem."

Both Stevenson and the President clung to the view that all efforts to disarm had met with Russian obstinacy, that the Russians had broken whole strings of agreements and their word was valueless. This is not altogether borne out by the record in the disarmament talks where the Russians on a number of occasions have agreed with the Western positions only to find that the West had hurriedly moved on to new posts from which to disagree. Still, for Stevenson and Eisenhower, Russian perfidy was an axiom on which any new policy would have to be built.

BULGANIN'S LETTER: In the midst of the heated exchange, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin wrote and almost immediately released for publication a note to the President repeating earlier Soviet offers to negotiate an agreement banning all further atomic weapons tests. The note was almost unprecedented not so much because it entered election year politics but because it seemed to take seriously what was being said in the campaign—something foreigners and Americans alike usually take with considerable salt.

Herblock in Washington Post
"You keep out of this!"

The Premier said he realized that in the election campaign various questions take "the form of polemic." Still, he said, the Soviet position had been distorted and he was therefore writing to correct the record. (Almost parenthetically he blasted the U.S. Secy. of State "who does not hesitate to make direct attacks against the Soviet Union and its peace-loving foreign policy.")

Bulganin had made substantially the same proposal on halting H-Bomb tests in a September letter to Eisenhower.

While the President was still studying the note, his press secretary James C. Hagerty termed it a "propaganda exercise."

IKE'S ANSWER: The President's answer, released as soon as it was sent, was violent, though it carefully kept all doors open for further discussions. But the sharpest paragraph in the letter charged Bulganin with a new offense: in effect supporting Stevenson. The President said Bulganin's note dispatched "in the midst of a national election campaign of which you take cognizance, expressing your support of the opinions of 'certain prominent public figures in the United States' constitutes an interference by a foreign nation in our internal affairs of a kind which, if indulged in by an Ambassador, would lead to his being declared persona non grata in accordance with long established custom."

On the test ban itself, the President repeated earlier demands for inspection and control, apparently unimpressed by the view expressed by both Stevenson and Bulganin, that an H-bomb blast anywhere in the world can be quickly discovered.

Some Republicans thought the Bulganin note a windfall. Every time Stevenson could toss the bomb issue at them they could now throw Bulganin back. Sen. Knowland (R-Cal.) quickly wired Stevenson calling upon him to "repudiate" Bulganin.

ESTES OVERBOARD: Still, Stevenson seemed to come out on top of this particular skirmish. In a statement issued after Hagerty had spoken, but before the President had released his own answer to Bulganin, Stevenson denounced the Administration for having "dismissed the Russian offer out of hand." He said nobody could say how "sincere" the Russians are but "we cannot afford to let them continually appear before the rest of the world as more devoted to peace and disarmament than we are." He recalled that at Geneva last year the President had said that the "Soviet leaders desired peace just as much as we do."

Later Stevenson seconded the President's resentment at Bulganin's "interference" and recalled that Soviet leaders in the past had expressed a preference for doing business with Eisenhower.

The Democrats, delighted to have come up with a safe and popular issue, made the most of it. Sometimes they leaped overboard. Estes Kefauver authoritatively told a N.Y. press conference that H-bombs could "right now blow the earth off its axis by 16 degrees, which would affect the seasons."

The vice-presidential candidate, speaking as chairman of a Senate Armed Services subcommittee, insisted that fact was "general knowledge." No one could be found to back him up and atomic scientist Ralph Lapp said there was nothing "within the realm of scientific fact that would substantiate such a statement."

DANGER REMAINS: But the menace of these tests was real, and the overwhelming majority of scientists working in the atomic field applauded Stevenson for making it a campaign issue. The peril of strontium-90, a cancer-causing chemical which comes to earth in atomic fall-out and can settle into human bone, is real, no matter how used in a campaign year. Scientist Lapp in the October issue of the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists** estimates that we have already put into the stratosphere 15% of the safety margin of the dreaded strontium-90 and increased testing could accelerate our pace toward the danger point.

In the face of that peril there seemed to be only a search for gestures and not a real distinction of policy between the two parties. James Reston in the N.Y. **Times** (10/2) wrote:

"Who has a policy, a plan for going on from here to turn the truce into a real peace? The answer to that, if we are to judge by the campaign debate so far, is that nobody has."

POOREST LIVING STANDARD IN U. S.

America's Indians are placing greatest hope in their vote

IN 1873 American Indians owned through their tribal organizations some 150,000,000 acres of land and were guaranteed its perpetual use in solemn treaties with the Federal government. By 1933 their holdings had dwindled to only 47,000,000 acres, most of them poor, much of them barren. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 halted for a time the raids on Indian property, but since 1950 the land-grabbers have been at it again. This year Indians are expected to vote in record numbers to retain their holdings and to defend their rights as citizens and Indians.

In late September the 13th annual convention of the Natl. Congress of American Indians was held in Salt Lake City, attended by 200 delegates representing 200,000 members of 60 tribes. President Joseph R. Garry, a grandson of Chief Spokane of the Couer d'Alene Indians and a candidate for the Idaho legislature, warned that every legal and political resource must be used "to hold on to our homelands, our identity and our precious Indian heritage." He blamed the Federal government for the fact that "American Indians are the poorest educated, have the poorest living standard and have the highest mortality rate of any group in the United States."

FOUR YEARS AGO: There are some 450,000 American Indians in the U.S. and in some Western regions their ballots represent the balance of power.

In 1952 both major parties contented themselves with the standard platitudes about improving Indian health, education and welfare but neither party spelled out a definite program and under the Eisenhower Administration Indian affairs went downhill fast. There was not only a direct attack on tribal ownership of land, with the consequent destruction of tribal communities and Indian cultures, but a government policy of enforced assimilation to get Indians off the reservations and into cities where they are unable to cope with a hostile world. **Labor's Daily** (9/8) quoted a young Sioux Indian, Robert Burnett, president of the tribal council at Rosebud, S.D.: "We just aren't prepared to compete with the white man. We need time to shift from one culture to another."

But in the past four years, as **Indian Affairs**, the newsletter of the American Indian Fund and the Assn. on American Indian Affairs, Inc., points out, a vast educational program on the status of Indians has been conducted by various groups and organizations and shows promise of changing current trends. Both major party platforms this year contain specific pledges which go far beyond the platitudes of 1952. **Indian Affairs** says of both platforms: "Emphasis is upon programs to help the Indian communities survive and prosper. Emphasis is upon the right of the Indian to be an Indian while a citizen. Emphasis is upon the continuing responsibility of the U.S. to protect and aid the tribes. The intention to terminate the Indian tribes is nowhere avowed."

WHAT THEY NEED: The newsletter insists that this year's platforms "have been influenced by the voters' demand" for a Point IV type of technical assistance to American Indians, which is central to all organizations concerned with the fate of the Indian.

While neither platform goes as far as endorsing a Point IV program, **Indian Affairs** writes: "President Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson have many speeches to make before Nov. 6. We can hope that they will name it by name and commit themselves to it personally."

What the Indian really needs has been spelled out by Clarence Wesley, a San Carlos Apache and president of the Intertribal Council of Arizona, in an article first published in the **Arizona Republic** and reprinted in the **Congressional Record**. He writes:

"The real issue are continuing ownership of land—development of human and natural resources—protection of rights solemnly promised by treaty and law—honor in government dealing with conquered peoples—our day in court on our claims—real opportunity for education of the same quality as is available to non-Indian citizens—adequate Federal assistance in reservation development toward the end our communities may thrive and contribute to the prosperity of the fine State in which we are located—an end to bureaucratic dictatorship and unnecessary Federal regulations—an end to wasteful, constantly changing, insensitive administration of our affairs in favor of a constant policy of minimum interference and maximum assistance to us to help ourselves."

THEIR GREATEST HOPE: Charging that Indians today face more problems than ever before after 135 years of government administration of Indian affairs, he continues:

"Indian tribes in this country today need long-term loans and grants for resource development, both natural resources and human resources. They need a minimum of regulation and control and a maximum of encouragement and technical assistance. Indian tribes need the kind of program that the nation is making possible in under-developed countries in other parts of the world."

But Wesley sees the needed reforms as coming largely from the strength of the Indians themselves: "The greed of the invaders has gradually taken our wealth from us. We have left only our political power with which to improve our conditions . . . Our votes are our greatest hope for the future."

NAVAJO INDIANS QUEUE UP TO REGISTER
This photo was taken in Gallup, New Mexico.

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WAS THERE A SELLOUT IN THE WORKS?

Meany runs into a storm as ILA wins 3d dock vote

By Lawrence Emery

FOR THE THIRD time in the three years since it was expelled from the AFL as "racket-ridden", the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. defeated the AFL-CIO-backed Intl. Brotherhood of Longshoremen in a Natl. Labor Relations Board representation election in New York on Oct. 17. In the earlier contests the ILA won by small margins; this time its victory was decisive with a vote of 11,827 to 7,428, with 20,597 of 22,038 eligible workers voting.

Before the election AFL-CIO pres. George Meany staked his prestige on its outcome by sending a signed letter to all New York longshoremen urging them to vote for the IBL and to repudiate the ILA as "a disgrace to the good name of organized labor."

SELL-OUT? But others thought the good name of organized labor was being compromised from another source. The Meany-backed IBL had sought and been granted the election while the ILA was negotiating with employers and pressing its key demand for industry-wide bargaining instead of the present practice of port-by-port settlements. Earlier (Sept. 21) Meany publicly denounced the ILA and its president, William V. Bradley, by declaring that he wouldn't even refer Bradley's request for readmission to the AFL-CIO to his executive council. **The Dispatcher**, official paper of the West Coast independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, which has an indirect stake in the East Coast negotiations, commented:

"Longshoremen felt that Meany's attack against the ILA just at the time it was engaged in a fight for industry-wide bargaining was a downright sell-out."

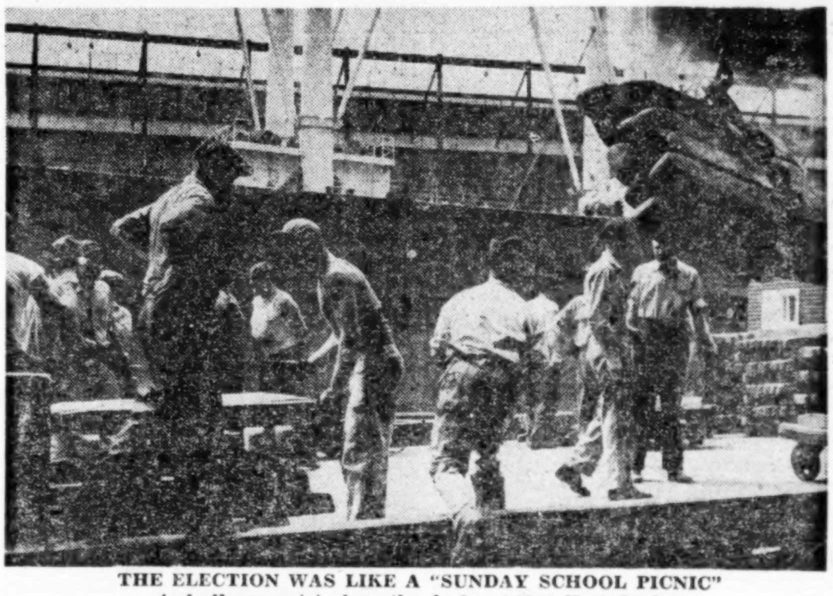
CURRAN ON HALL: There was another angle to the Meany attack on the ILA which was exploded dramatically on the eve of the elections by Joseph Curran, president of the Natl. Maritime Union and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He charged that the IBL was simply a front for Paul Hall, secy.-treas. of the Seafarer's Intl. Union, in a plan to gain control of East Coast longshoremen and to destroy the NMU. Curran and Hall, although now both members of the merged labor movement, are old foes in the maritime industry. The ILWU has long charged that Hall and his West Coast associate, Harry Lundeberg, seek control of longshoremen on both coasts, but this is the first time the accusation has been made by a top AFL-CIO leader. Said Curran:

"Paul Hall has demonstrated no interest in the welfare of the rank and file longshoremen. His sole interest is to control longshoremen in order to achieve his objective of destroying the NMU."

SCABS AND SHAPE-UPS: Curran in his explosive letter to Meany urged him to withdraw his support from the IBL and said: "The united labor movement has placed itself in the position of attempting to help to a position of influence on the docks a man in whom the longshoremen have no confidence."

He charged that Hall engaged "in running scabs onto the docks under police protection" during a 1954 New York longshoremen's strike, and that this year he "met in Texas to negotiate with [Anthony] Anastasia and [Thomas] Teddy Gleason, who he often charged to be among the worst elements within the ILA."

Curran also challenged the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission which was set up by the two states at the time of the ILA's expulsion to "clean up" the waterfront. He said "its only 'accomplishment' has been to move the vicious shape-up from the streets and continue it under a roof," and added: "Neither we nor any responsible labor organizations can tolerate oppressive government control over workers."



THE ELECTION WAS LIKE A "SUNDAY SCHOOL PICNIC"
And all was quiet along the docks of New York harbor

BRIDGES COMMENTS: The ILA, which heretofore had scoffed at Bridges' old charge of an SIU scheme to capture the longshoremen, said in a leaflet distributed just before the elections that the SIU plans for "Hall to muscle in on the East Coast ILA and Harry Lunchbox (Lundeberg) to take over the West Coast longshoremen and amalgamate them into the Seafarer's Intl. Union."

Bridges added another comment: "At the very time when the key ILA contract demand is for one coastwide contract in order to strengthen and unify the union, the IBL comes along petitioning for an election in one port, New York, and the NLRB, of course, gives it to them. It shouldn't be a surprise that the IBL strategy is aimed at weakening and dividing longshore strength. After all, it's a strategy worked out by Lundeberg and Paul Hall, and it has as its main objective putting the sailors in control of the East Coast docks and longshore jobs."

BRADLEY TO MEANY: ILA chief Bradley himself had a few words to say about Meany's attack on him, and called Meany's letter to the longshoremen "the biggest collection of outright lies and half-lies this port has ever seen." As for the Meany charge that the ILA is run by crooks, he said:

"The fact is, as Meany has carefully tried to conceal, that he undertook the job in 1943 of making any necessary reforms in the ILA and its locals. He accepted this responsibility at the invitation of the ILA, after a Federal grand jury investigation. He made his reports directly to the U.S. Attorney. He cannot now try to throw responsibility on others."

As for the election results, ILA general organizer Gleason said: "The men have spoken." He said the union "will proceed to do everything possible to get the men the best contract possible" and announced that he expected negotiations to get under way again no later than Oct. 22.

HOW SEPARATE ARE THE CHURCH AND THE STATE?

N. Y. adopts plan to teach religion in schools

IN SCHOOLS AND HOUSING the tide was running against those who thought the state had no business in religion and vice versa.

The New York City Board of Education early this month overrode vigorous objections to pass unanimously a report on the "development of moral and spiritual ideals in the public schools." It seemed to many to open the door to religious teaching in the public schools. That prospect alarmed not so much the free-thinkers as those religious parents who foresaw that inevitably teachers would teach not generalized religion but the beliefs of a particular church.

An early version of the report, issued in 1955, met vigorous opposition from the United Parents Assn., N. Y. Board of Rabbis, Public Education Assn., N. Y. City Protestant Council, American Jewish Congress, American Civil Liberties Union, Citizens Comm. on Children, N. Y. Teachers Guild and the Teachers Union.

CONCEPT OF INFINITY: The present document was toned down, though it continues to identify Americanism with religion and require that pupils be taught the "religious underpinning" of U. S. ideals. The revised version points out the "definite limitations" of scientific methods, declares that the concept of infinity must "lead to humbleness before God's handiwork," and sets the schools the task of stimulating "the love of God."

It was published at the end of July and scheduled to be approved in August when parents and teachers would be unavailable. Protests forced a postponement of public hearings to Sept. 17. The Protestant Council and the PEA had shifted to support the report. The Board of Rabbis offered qualified support to the new version. The rest of the opposition stood fast and were joined by the Society for Ethical Culture, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American Humanists Assn.

QUICK REACTION: On Oct. 4 the Board announced its unanimous approval of the report as a guide to education in New York. The UPA Delegates Meeting on Oct. 1 had reaffirmed its opposition. After its adoption by the Board, the UPA asked that teachers and supervisors be instructed not to act as "missionaries" for their own beliefs.

Parents in Levittown, L. I., quickly felt the effects of the new directive. Mrs. Helen C. Murphy, principal of Wisdom Lane Public School, sent a letter to all parents of children in her school:

"We hope that your child would be given some religious training in the church of his choice so that he will understand the principles of honesty, obedience, truthfulness and respect for authority at all times."

Some parents objected. The local Board of Education supported Mrs. Murphy in a 4-3 vote that recognized her letter as in accord with the new look in the schools. The Levittown **Press**, though, called the letter an "intrusion."

FLORIDA CHALLENGE: Dr. Sam Moorer, director of instruction field services of Florida's Dept. of Education, was trying to teach religion to public school children without getting tangled in interdenominational fights. His program, limited this year to Florida schools that volunteer, instructs the teachers to refer all theological questions to a priest, rabbi or minister acceptable to the parents of the child who asks them.

The Miami affiliate of the ACLU is preparing to challenge the program as violating the separation of church and state.

CHURCH VS. STATE IN THE CLASSROOM
Do children need a teacher or a missionary?

IN LINCOLN SQUARE: The fight spilled over into a controversy involving a new community development in New York's Lincoln Square section.

Last month the League for Religious Freedom petitioned the N. Y. Board of Estimate to kill the project because it would involve a public subsidy of religious schools, a convent and quarters for priests.

Present plans call for Fordham University, a Catholic institution, to set up its law, business, education and social sciences schools in the new project, along with buildings for teachers, a church, a convent, and perhaps parts of St. John's University, also Catholic.

The land would be sold to Fordham at $5 per square foot, estimated at from one-quarter to one-half the price the city must pay for it. The loss would be shared by the city and federal governments, amounting to an indirect subsidy, the League maintains.

The N. Y. State Constitution (Section 4, Article 11) expressly forbids the use of public funds to aid "any school . . . wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught."

The League's headquarters are at 20 E. 100th St., N. Y. C. 29.

ONE MAN AND HIS PERSISTENT DREAM

Sweet water from the sea — sweet music for Israel

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

Divide the waters (GEN. 1.6)

IN A TINY, over-crowded room on the ground-floor of a modest Tel Aviv residential hotel, we met Israel Zarchin, the man who may well have found the solution to the problem which has long preoccupied Israel's farmers and scientists —and farmers and scientists in every other thirsty land around the globe. For this short, slight man, a chemical engineer who received his training at the Leningrad Technical Institute, has developed the process of demineralizing—desalting—sea-water, of which there is an unlimited supply, for the purpose of cheap, sweet water for drinking, irrigation and industry.

Zarchin began work on this process in Leningrad in 1931. Ever since his arrival in Palestine in 1947, he tried to interest the authorities here in a plan which, to his mind, would solve the crying needs of a country lacking sufficient resources of natural, sweet water. But even here, where no drop of precious rain is ever wasted, Zarchin had a hard time persuading the powers-that-be to invest a small initial sum in his project. According to his calculations his plan would make the soil fertile and save untold millions in years to come.

A SIMPLE PLAN: It was only after nine years of patiently peddling his project from ministry to ministry that the Government, this past summer, finally allocated a sum to build a pilot plant which will be erected at the sea-shore of Tel Aviv. The final designs are now being worked out by the Ministry of Development, and it is hoped that the plant will go into operation within a year.

The process of demineralization is so ingeniously simple that it baffles the imagination: Sea-water is frozen, and through the process of freezing is cleansed of its mineral content. Out of a given quantity of sea-water thus processed, only part of the water is frozen while the remainder retains a more highly concentrated salt content. The frozen part, upon de-freezing, proves to be entirely de-salted, sweet water. (The Red Army has long used this process with the help of mobile plants.)

THE JORDAN PROBLEM: The only sweet water available in Israel in adequate quantities is the water of the river Jordan, diversion of which has long met with violent opposition on the part of Israel's Arab neighbors. By obtaining sweet water from the sea, a troublesome political problem would be solved. But this is almost incidental since, in the most favorable of cases, the Jordan could hardly supply all of Israel with sufficient sweet water. An even more important problem is cost. Zarchin told us that, according to his calculations, his process will cost one fifth as much as the long-proposed project of diverting the Jordan. The Mediterranean, whose waters contain a salt solution of only 3½ per cent, is ideal for this process. The Dead Sea, with a much higher salt content, would prove more costly; but even there, Zarchin hopes, a plant will eventually be erected with a production capacity sufficient to provide for drinking water and local irrigation. At present, the Dead Sea Works serve the opposite purpose: they extract minerals from the water for use and processing in the Dead Sea Potash Works.

HEAVY OIL TOO: The machinery for the pilot plant has been ordered from abroad and the plant itself will be operated by electricity. Sooner or later, however, Zarchin claims, all materials needed for his process can be obtained locally. Pipes can be manufactured from Dead Sea magnesium, while energy should eventually be obtained exclusively from heavy oil derived from the vast bitumen deposits available in the Negev. Heavy oil derived from bitumen—a bottle of it stood on his table as we talked—can, according to Zarchin, be produced at a cost of 20 Israel pounds a ton; petroleum, obtained by drilling, either locally or imported, sells now at the rate of $29 a ton, or 52 Israel pounds, i.e., 2½ times the cost of heavy oil contained in bitumen.

Zarchin today is as anxious to interest the authorities in his oil-processing project as he has been to make them accept his sea-water plan. According to his surveys, there exist vast oil deposits of this kind all over the Negev—in one place alone, along the Dead Sea near Sodom, 20 million tons of heavy oil could be made available. This oil, which is of a higher quality than diesel oil, has no benzine content—although benzine could be obtained through cracking.

OIL INTERESTS OPPOSED: But the oil would be ideally suited to creating such energy as is needed for freezing or vaporising. Zarchin has run into difficulties on his oil plan too. The opposition comes, he told us, from the oil interests both here and abroad. Success of this project would cut heavily into their profits.

He has talked often with newspapermen—always plugging his oil project—and has met with a conspiracy of silence. In an American television interview that part of the film in which he developed his oil plan was cut.

Israel Zarchin's persistence has made one dream become reality; what will happen to the other dream will depend on whether he can mobilize Government support and aid of progressive, scientific interest both here and abroad.

United Nations photo

THE DESERT COULD BECOME A LAND OF MILK AND HONEY
A farmer-shepherd tends his flock in Israel

From salt to fresh in 10 years?

On his Oct. 11 broadcast CBS news commentator Allen Jackson said:

LET'S TAKE A NEW look at one of man's oldest dreams—how to make use of all the water in the oceans. If it didn't contain salt and other impurities, it could be used to make gardens out of deserts. And scientists, for a long time, have been trying to figure out how to get the water and leave the salt.

It can be done—is being done—but the cost is somewhat high. The island city of Curacao in the Caribbean distils 2,000,000 gallons of water every day from the sea but the cost is something like $3 a 1,000 gallons, far too expensive for irrigation purposes. On the West Coast, a professor of the University of California, Everett Howe, who has been working on the problem for several years, has progressed to the point where he can distill ocean water for about a tenth the cost of the process used at Curacao . . . around 30c a 1,000 gallons. But that's still too expensive. He wants to cut it by a little more than half.

Says Prof. Howe: "What we're looking for is a way of making salt water fresh—cheaply enough so that the farmer can buy it for large scale irrigation."

And in the drought areas of the country, and many other regions where water consumption has increased tremendously over the years, those are hopeful words.

Prof. Howe thinks he's on the right track with a process known as "low temperature difference." It's promising because it requires no outside fuel or power. Once he gets a full plant into operation over a period of time, it may be possible to work out the practical problems of cutting costs enough so that water from the oceans can be distilled cheaply enough for use by the farmers.

And it may not be too far away. Maybe, the professor says, within less than ten years.

800 hurt in Japan

(Continued from Page 1)

to make way for an extended runway. Surrounded by still shouting farmers and their supporters, the surveyors drove stakes into the ground and announced they "will be able to complete surveying 1,890 tsubo (one tsubo is about 36 square feet) by the Oct. deadline."

FORCE POSTPONEMENT: Surveyors have been balked since Oct. 4 by 3,000 farmers and sympathizers guarding the land every day. Police first clashed with the farmers on Oct. 12, and succeeded in breaking through the next day. That night, on the initiative of ex-Premier Katayama, ex-Justice Minister Kazami, ex-Foreign Minister Arita and lawyer Unno, 50 cultural leaders launched a Defend Sunakawa campaign. They declared that the airbase expansion was undesirable in the present international situation and in violation of the Japanese Constitution. Among the signatories were Science Council president Dr. Kaya, Ritsumeikan Univ. president Dr. Suekawa, Hosei Univ. president Dr. Ouchi and YWCA leader Mrs. Uemura.

Faced by the opposition of the cultural leaders and the report that 10,000 farmers and supporters would meet the police and the surveyors the next day, the Japanese government decided to postpone further surveying indefinitely. Students and trade union members pledged assistance to farmers with damaged land.

PROTESTS GROW: The Oct. 12-13 police brutality has inflamed public opinion and increased anti-American and anti-government sentiment throughout the country. U.S. Air Force authorities explain that they need expanded airbases with longer runways for launching planes carrying nuclear weapons. To the Japanese farmers, whose postwar constitution forbids warfare, farmland symbolizes peace and life, airbases mean war and death.

They are determined to defend their land and to continue opposing expansion of U.S. airbases until the Japanese-American Security Pact is revised or renounced. They also hope that Americans will send letters of protests to Ambassador John M. Allison, U.S. Embassy, Minato-ku, Tokyo, and to Premier Ichiro Hatoyama, Nagata-cho, Chiyda-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

This was a scene at Sunakawa Air Base near Tokyo as the angry demonstrators attempted to halt the surveyors. The protests demonstrate the deep revulsion against atomic war on the part of the Japanese.

Pearl of a chap

NIPPON's new air force is commanded by Lt. Col. Masanobu Ibusuki, one-time pilot of the Imperial Japanese Navy.

Now 40 years of age, Ibusuki played a definite role in the attack on Hawaii Dec. 7, 1941. His mission was to attack Hickman Field, United States air base located near the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard. He is credited with having destroyed 25 United States aircraft during World War II.

At Chitose USAF base at Hokkaido, to which Ibusuki is assigned, he is reported to be quite popular with the Americans.

Boston Globe, Oct. 2, 1956

THE BIG DEBATE CONTINUES

The new Left: What should it look like?

THE DEBATE on the U.S. Left last week focused on voting recommendations for Nov. 6, but it involved more than that: the question of whether or not there was to be a Left and what it would look like.

The **Nation** in its Oct. 20 issue ran a four-way guidepost for the elections, offering liberals four different pointers to progress. Palmer Hoyt, editor-publisher of the Denver **Post**, urged a vote for Eisenhower's "constructive moderation." Despite "some bloopers, some miscalculations of public demand and need and not a few compromises," Mr. Eisenhower in the Presidency has been "a not insignificant psychological weapon," Hoyt says. Hoyt gives Vice President Nixon one paragraph which says he "has served well."

William T. Evjue, publisher of the anti-McCarthy **Capital Times** of Madison, Wis., describes a feeling about the country that it is heading "for the same kind of a crack-up that came at the end of the 20's." He says that farmers and others, after "four years of big business in the White House," know that "Stevenson and Kefauver represent the best chance to avoid a repetition of those days."

A SOCIALIST VOTE: Monthly Review editors Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy call for a socialist vote and indicate that it does not matter whether it is cast for candidates of the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party or Socialist Workers Party. The key question, they say, is the preservation of capitalism in the U.S. or its replacement by socialism. To them the Democratic-Republican choice is between candidates who agree on the system of private property, are on the same side of the class war and offer only alternative "representatives of the capitalist class."

If this year's socialist vote is bigger than that of 1952, Huberman and Sweezy will call it a victory. They say to the Left: "We must dedicate ourselves to the inspiring task of bringing about a genuine revival of Socialist thought and Socialist faith in a country that is fast losing the habit of thought, and is sadly in need of a faith."

DuBOIS WON'T VOTE: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois rounds off the debate declaring: "In 1956 I shall not go to the polls. I have not registered. I believe that democracy has so far disappeared in the United States that no 'two evils' exist. There is but one evil party with two names, and it will be elected despite all I can do or say."

He charges the Eisenhower administration with "the greatest preparation for war in the history of mankind" and says Stevenson promises to "maintain and increase" the effort. Few will hear the Socialist parties' appeal, he says, and they will have no chance to make their program generally known for a test at the polls. Dr. DuBois writes:

"Is the refusal to vote in this phony election a counsel of despair? No, it is dogged hope. It is hope that if 25 million voters refrain from voting in 1956 of their own accord and not because of a sly wink from Khrushchev, this might make the American people ask how much longer this dumb farce can proceed without even a whimper of protest . . . We can now make a sick man President and set him to a job which would strain a man in robust health. So he dies and what do we get to lead us? With Stevenson and Nixon, with Eisenhower and Eastland, we remain in the same mess. I will be no party to it and that will make little difference. You will take large part and bravely march to the polls, and that also will make little difference."

Dr. DuBois called for a rebirth of the spirit of Lincoln and Jefferson when fair elections can be held on real issues. He closed: "Is this impossible? Then democracy in America is impossible."

THE "NATION'S" VIEW: The **Nation** itself said the DuBois view was the only one it could "reject out of hand." It found the Huberman-Sweezy view all right for those who saw answers only in socialism, but it wrote off the three Socialist parties as "not new growths or developments, but dying sects." A vote for one of them, said the **Nation**, would fail to protest against Nixon or act to prevent his succession to the Presidency.

The magazine indicated respect and admiration for both Eisenhower and Stevenson, but a preference for the Democrats, not without reservations. The Democratic Party is more likely than the Republican Party to change for the better, it argued: "The Democratic Party commands better talent, it has more vitality, its appeal is broader and the progressive elements within it have a much better chance of moving into positions of control than do the similar elements—there are a few such—in the Republican Party."

PACIFIST VIEW: Liberation, a liberal monthly which includes the pacifist leader A. J. Muste on its editorial board, says in its October issue: "In these circumstances we cast our vote by a deliberate refusal to vote in the Presidential election; by publicizing this fact and the reason therefor; and by concentrating attention on the more relevant and basic forms of action in which people may engage every day in the year."

In a long statement the pacifist journal defined the "basic forms of action," citing the upsurge in the 30's, the bus protest in Montgomery, Ghandi's passive resistance and the Czarist armies who "voted with their feet." **Liberation** called for a new Left "willing to do fresh thinking in a non-sectarian and non-dogmatic spirit about what radicalism means in America and the world today."

"Isn't it exciting having a car that can do 160 miles an hour!"

THOMAS AND BROWDER: The new Left was also the subject of a chat on Sept. 14 at the New York office of Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas. His visitor was his one-time opponent, ex-Communist leader Earl Browder.

Thomas said Browder had gone very far in the re-thinking necessary for working together. He denied any thought of starting a new party with Browder, since nothing could be launched by "those of us who bear too many scars of the past." But he was interested in "something like a new Fabian Society."

Talking at a Massapequa, L.I., branch of the Socialist Party, Browder said that in any rebirth of the Left "a key role must be played by Norman Thomas who, over the years, has won a special moral authority among large masses, who has always stood superior to faction, and who spoke for one of the main currents when the Left was strong."

The two warriors had mellowed. Browder told newsmen he was "happy" to find that Thomas did not at once reject the role of leader. Thomas said he would not exclude Browder and that "I will always talk with him."

The Political Mailbag

(Continued from page 2)

pockets of the people, but to frisk the American mind and rob it of all that our great immortals made of it, that is final debasement, final demoralization! If the American mind is still the mind that Jefferson, Lincoln, Walt Whitman conceived it to be, then of a certainty this GOP Frisco Frisk must be the Frisco Fiasco when votes are counted in November! The puppet of privilege and plunder, god of the godless, must be retired to everlasting privacy with all his fellow fanfarons if we are to have anything like sanity or health in our body politic or anything like integrity of the American mind and character!

So help me, Adlai and Estes!

Horace Casselberry

For a people's party

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We, as union members, have carefully read the GUARDIAN editorial of Sept. 24. Vincent Hallinan, C. B. Baldwin, Harry Bridges, Cliff McAvoy and others. Respecting their viewpoint and considering their tactics, we feel that the self-determination of the American worker will assert itself on any overpowering influence toward fascism when the framework of a people's political party and program is functioning, by rank and file control and participation.

From the early days of Daniel DeLeon, Sam Gompers, the Knights of Labor and idealists of liberal views, political-action thinking of the American worker has been stunted by the "lesser of the two evils" mass pseudo-psychologists.

Throughout the nation where neighborhood organization has carried on its campaigns and struggles, national minorities — particularly as voting citizens — participated in working class activities they could understand. Rising from such participation came their leaders — Mexican-Americans on the ballot for school committeemen; Oriental leaders in P.T.A. meetings; Negro city, state and national leaders; Puerto Rican labor and cultural organizations meeting on the level with similar groups, and a working-class nation gaining the knowledge of unity, integration and political action.

Will not the name of Red and Socialist always be leveled at any working class party that springs from the people? The death of one people's party is the moss that grows to strangle the American trade union movement, as the aim of the favored wealthy is to destroy labor as well as working class parties.

We must not die within the sinuous coils of the Democratic or Republican parties. As trade unionists we favor only the party that meets on the level of the demands of our fellow workers.

John R. Cormier

Ask the generals

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In a speech from Portland, Ore., reported in the **N. Y. Times** Oct. 10, Adlai E. Stevenson charged that the Republicans under the Eisenhower Adminisration had cut defense expenditures without consulting military leaders."

If Stevenson is elected, we presumably may feel secure in the assurance that he will consult our generals before determining how much money they require to keep us safe and free.

The Communists and those who have been properly confused by their demoralized influence will vote for and support Stevenson and his corrupt, reactionary party. Their sophistry in this matter is thinly disguised and revolting. A classic illustration appears in the Oct. 1 **Daily Worker** and states in essence that "we endorse no candidate" but support labor, liberal elements and the Negro people in the fight to defeat Nixon and the "Cadillac Cabinet."

Millions of Americans out of indifference will not vote at all. A small minority of progressives will not vote either, but for reasons of a more clearly defined nature.

Shale Dworan

"As far as I can figure we are descendents of a creature called 'man' who lived in the atomic age."

Aneurin & Adlai

STANTON, MINN.

I note a letter from Besse Strassburger, complaining about the Democratic platform. Platforms are just flypaper designed to catch votes, and the Republican platform is practically identical.

There are a few things we do know from the record. Estes Kefauver in the Senate voted against our alliance with Chiang —one of a handful of Senators who had that much courage. I do not know what Stevenson really thinks of the China situation, but so far as I know, he has never made any definite statement in support of Chiang. It is pretty certain that the UN this winter is going to vote in favor of admitting Red China. I submit that an uncommitted Stevenson administration would quietly accept the situation whereas the Republican administration that pushed through the alliance with Nationalist China and is largely dominated by men like Bridges, Knowland and Nixon, could hardly do so.

Another important point: Eisenhower is definitely committed to that silly "open skies inspection" plan which has blocked all progress toward disarmament. A new Stevenson administration could forget that idea and negotiate with the Russians about disarmament in a new way. Stevenson has made a statement that disarmament would be the first order of business.

Another important point: It is quite likely that the next Prime Minister of England will be Aneurin Bevan. Bevan is opposed to German re-armament — which the Eisenhower administration has admittedly supported. I submit that a new uncommitted Stevenson administration would be much more likely to get along in a friendly way with a Bevan government than a Republican administration would.

J. M. T.

Looks to '68

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

Open letter to Darlington Hoopes, Farrell Dobbs, Eric Haas:

Gentlemen:

Each of you must know that a house divided cannot stand and that separately there are few states where you can gain a ballot status. So why not unite in one party? I now call upon you to get together in a United Socialist or Labor party. Label is not important, but give us workers the foundation of a party to build for 1968. Let us hear from you through the GUARDIAN.

If they will give us a united left front party, I will personally take the job of getting the needed petitions to get the party on the ballot in Missouri for 1960.

John L. Widner

CHANGES HELP JEWS

Polish leaders act to lift ban on emigration, curb anti-Semitism

This story was written before the recent developments in Poland.

THE SHARP CHANGES Poland has been undergoing in its efforts to establish socialist democracy have not failed to affect the status of its Jewish population. The Warsaw Yiddish-language publication **Folks Shtimme**, which had revealed earlier the persecution of Jewish intellectuals in the Soviet Union under Stalin, described in a more recent article (reprinted in the **Canadian Jewish Weekly**, (10/4) the current status and feeling of Jews in Poland.

The article says that although "full equality for Polish Jewry is an historically established fact," many Jews still wish to emigrate to Israel, others cannot make up their minds. Polish CP secy. Ochab has urged the people to "combat every expression of anti-Semitism," but outbreaks have continued.

The mood of those who have applied to leave Poland was expressed in the case of one Warsaw Jew. After applying for an exit visa, he "has had second thoughts on the matter, can't seem to make up his mind definitely one way or the other, has become nervous, doesn't sleep nights [and] is going through a very difficult time."

CONFIDENCE IS GONE: Many Jews seem undecided about their future course. They know that Poland has abolished unemployment, and that it would not be easy for people over 40 to start life anew abroad. But they have lost "confidence in the ability of socialism to protect the interests of the Jewish people," arguing that after 12 years the government has still failed to uproot anti-Semitism.

Folks Shtimme denied that the current signs of anti-Semitism represent a trend; it attributed them to "the distortions of socialist morality [which] are now being corrected and liquidated." The government, the publication said, is facilitating the departure of Jews who wish to join relatives in Israel and is at the same time trying to create the environment of a normal and secure life for Jews in Poland itself.

While greeting the government's permission for Jews to emigrate as "a just and humane act," the Jewish Social and Cultural Assn. has deplored panic and hysteria and said it was "redoubling its efforts to win the intended emigres for continued residence in Poland."

A POLITICAL ISSUE: The nature and extent of anti-Semitism in Poland was discussed in a frank article by a Prof. Kotarbinski in the teachers' union newspaper. The N.Y. **Times** reported (10/11) that the article had been reprinted in most Polish newspapers, including the CP organ **Trybuna Ludu.**

Kotarbinski said the number of Jews in leading government and CP positions has become an issue in the political struggle between those who were urging speed in establishing a socialist democracy and those who advocate a go-slow policy. At the last CP Central Committeee meeting Zenon Nowak, a go-slow advocate, was reported calling for "regulation" of the number of Jews in high posts.

Kotarbinski said that Jews held many top jobs because, "after having been hunted by the Nazis, they became faithful servants of a Socialist regime." The Polish people, he said, had distorted this into "a Jewish plot against Poles and Christians." Many still mutter: "God sent Hitler to liberate us from Jews." And school children say: "Mama does not allow me to be friendly with Jews."

APPEAL FOR EQUALITY: Many Jews, according to the **Times**, say that Nowak's attack has barred them from all but manual labor; there has been a "steady increase in anti-Semitic incidents." Kotarbinski appealed for equal treatment for all Polish citizens so that no Jew would want to "seek refuge where no one will call him a stranger." He said that two pre-war bases of anti-Semitism had been eliminated by the reduction of the Jewish population from 3,000,000 to 50,000 and by the introduction of socialism under which there was no Jewish-Gentile trade competition.

M. Zambrowski is the only Jewish member of the Polish CP Politburo at present.

In a speech at the 42nd annual convention of Hadassah at Houston, Tex., Youth Aliyah (youth immigration and rehabilitation) director Moshe Kol confirmed the Polish government's relaxation of restrictions on Jewish emigration. Kol said that, besides permitting a limited number of adults to join their families in Israel, Warsaw has allowed the departure of a group of Jewish children, most of them orphans and some accompanied by their widowed mothers.

Polish upheaval

(Continued from Page 1)

radio, putting it practically out of commission.

Other rumors had the Soviet army marching into Poland from both the U.S.S.R. and E. Germany. "Foreign diplomats" passing through Poland were said to have witnessed "clashes" between the Soviet and Polish armies. Marshal Rokossovsky was reported to have surrounded Warsaw with the Russian army divisions stationed in Poland in accordance with the Warsaw pact, and Polish workers were said to have been quietly armed in anticipation of defending Polish freedom against a Soviet military coup.

AND MORE RUMORS: At the first Belvedere Palace meeting Khrushchev was alleged to have bitterly denounced Gomulka as a "traitor," and demanded the restoration of the previous Politburo. He was reported shouting: "I will show you what the way to socialism looks like. If you don't obey we will crush you." Emphasizing that Russian soldiers "shed their blood" to save Poland, he accused Gomulka and Ochab of wanting "to sell the country to the Americans and the Zionists." A later version quoted Khrushchev as using the words "to the American imperialists."

Ochab was reported furious at the news of Soviet troops marching toward Warsaw. "Don't think you can keep us here and start a putsch outside," he was quoted as saying to Khrushchev. "If you don't stop them immediately, we will walk out of here and break off all contact." Thus threatened, Khrushchev was said to have ordered the Soviet troops to retreat.

THE TRUTH: Closer inspection disclosed that some of the news was exaggerated, most of it was pulled out of thin air. Over 5,000 students and workers held a huge political rally in Warsaw Oct. 19, supporting Gomulka but making no criticism of the Soviet Union. "Quiet and self-controlled" workers stayed in their factories to listen to "couriers running the news from party headquarters to factory meetings" (N.Y. **Times**, 10/22). They worked on Sunday, Oct. 21, the **Times** said, "to dispose of the 'provocative rumors' that had been spread that sitdown strikes were taking place."

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune's** Marguerite Higgins on Oct. 20 held "clear and uninterrupted" long-distance telephone conversations with Poland's leading newspapers. She was told that "many student demonstrations throughout the city . . . may have been responsible for reports of sitdown strikes;" and that "investigation had failed to verify" the story of Warsaw being ringed by troops.

UP correspondent Anthony Cavendish reported from Moscow (10/22) that "newsmen who toured . . . for a radius of some 50 miles around the capital saw no sign of unusual troop formations;" he found "not the slightest evidence yet that the Soviet forces have lifted a finger against Gomulka." N.Y. **Times** correspondent Henry Giniger, after two automobile trips 15 miles out of Warsaw "failed to uncover any martial scenes." The only "movement" he found was that of peasants driving carts, and "the only stationing and road-watching were being done by Poles waiting for buses and by cows."

GROUNDS FOR WORRY? Nevertheless, the fact remained that the Soviet leaders were in Warsaw at a crucial moment of CP leadership change, and the duration of Polish and Soviet CP leaders' conferences indicated serious and perhaps even bitter discussions. Aware of anti-Soviet elements still existing in Poland and undoubtedly being assisted by the CIA from Washington, and also of the strategic location of Poland lying between the U.S.S.R. and E. Germany, Soviet leaders must have been worried by the spectacular changes taking place so swiftly among their neighbors.

CONFLICT IN THE PRESS: In any case, it became obvious by Oct. 21 that Polish and Soviet leaders had reached an understanding and remaining differences, as Sydney Gruson reported (**Times**, 10/21), were "going to be settled by negotiations rather than by force." According to Gruson, "Soviet leaders finally agreed that the Polish list for the new Politburo was satisfactory, and the Poles agreed to go to Moscow for further discussions 'soon'." Gomulka and other Polish CP leaders went to the airport to bid farewell to the Soviet leaders. Gomulka shook hands with every Soviet leader, turned to Khrushchev and said: "Oh, Comrade Khrushchev, I almost forgot to say goodby to you."

But even as the leaders parted amicably, a bitter controversy continued between the Soviet journal **Pravda** and Polish newspapers. In the Polish CP organ **Trybuna Ludu**, two important writers had called for a reevaluation of such slogans as "Workers of all countries unite!" and had urged democratization in Polish life, independence in Poland's international relations and a search for a new basis for contacts with the West. **Pravda** had strongly attacked such articles as sounding like "preachments for rejection of the Socialist path." **Trybuna Ludu**, while not opposing **Pravda's** right to criticise Polish writing, objected to the Soviet paper's language, saying such language did not contribute to friendly relations between the two parties.

FOR EQUALITY: In his address to the Central Committee on Oct. 20, Gomulka vowed to allow "nobody to exploit the process of democratization against socialism" and to "present a resolute opposition to the whisper campaign . . . aiming at weakening our friendship with the Soviet Union [which is] based on principles of equality and independence."

Contrary to sensational reports of tension and stress in Poland, Gruson reported (**Times**, 10/22) that the Poles were jubilant over Gomulka's return to power and slogans printed on two banners flying over the Warsaw University buildings "reflected the mood" Gomulka had established. "The army is with the people; the people are with the army in defence of democratization," proclaimed the banner over the Fine Arts Academy. "Long live friendship with the Soviet Union on the principles of equality," read the banner over the youth movement's headquarters.

Gomulka—up from the underground

WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, new First Secy. of the Polish Communist Party, has been a labor leader and bears a leg wound memento from those days, a resistance chief who fought the Nazis barefoot in Warsaw, a Communist for 30 years, seven of which were spent in pre-revolutionary jails, over three in post-revolutionary prison.

He was born Feb. 6, 1905, in Krosno, Southern Poland, the son of an oil worker. At 13 he went to work as a plumber. At 21 he joined the CP and began organizing. When police broke into a textile workers convention in Lodz in 1932, they winged Gomulka in the leg and lamed him, then sent him to prison for four years. He came out in 1937, was rearrested almost immediately and sentenced to another seven years. When the war began he was let out and walked barefoot from Lodz to Warsaw to join the resistance.

JOINS UNDERGROUND: He fought in Warsaw's worker battalions and when the city fell, went to Lwow, then held by the Russians. When the Germans took Lwow, Gomulka stayed on, preferring the underground to Moscow, and joined the newly formed Polish Workers Party, a revived CP. Battling in the resistance, his superiors fell either to assassins' bullets or the Gestapo and Gomulka moved up rapidly to the post of Chief Executive, directing the twin-front battle against the Nazis and the home-grown fascist forces of Poland led by Gen. Anders and the government-in-London.

With liberation Gomulka held his post but found it difficult to work with others who had not fought the war in the underground. When the Soviet-Yugoslav friction began, Gomulka offered to mediate, stubbornly insisting that it was all a misunderstanding. In 1948 he was removed from top office. In 1949 he was accused of various offenses, including misconduct during the occupation.

NO APOLOGIES: Arraigned before the Central Committee he said: "I speak today at some length because I know that it's the last time I shall speak." Then he went on without confession or apology and said defiantly: "I'll accept no criticism of my conduct during the occupation." He was expelled and in 1951 he was again under arrest. Accounts differ as to whether he spent the following years in jail or under house arrest.

Since then he has lived in an unpretentious apartment in a Warsaw suburb with his wife who has shared part of his prison years with him.

Gomulka has been called taciturn, stubborn and humorless but he is also unquestionably courageous and, no matter how subtle the political shading, a dedicated communist.

For Holiday Cards
With a Distinctive
Quality, See Page 5

In loving memory of
SANDRA DYER
October 20, 1955
— SAN FRANCISCO FRIENDS —

NEW YORK

SWAPPING SONG FAIR presents at TOWN HALL FRI., NOV. 2 8:40 P.M.
FOLK SONG CONCERT
MARTHA SCHLAMME
WILL HOLT
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"THE NEIGHBORS"

Jules Brenner
Handwrought Jewelry
127 Macdougal Street
between 3rd and 4th Streets
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Africa's choice

By W. E. B. DuBois

GEORGE PADMORE is a brown West Indian, born in Trinidad in 1903. His father was a well-known botanist in government employ. The son, after finishing local schools, attended Fisk University and the Howard Law School in the U.S. Most of Padmore's adult life has been spent in England, Germany and the Soviet Union. For the last 20 years he has been a writer and journalist in London, especially interested in Africa. He has written many books on colonialism including *How Britain Rules Africa; Africa and World Peace; Africa, Britain's Third Empire; The Gold Coast Revolution* and *How Russia Transformed her Colonial Empire.* His latest book is of particular interest. *

Padmore knows Africa from travel, and particularly from his long and close acquaintanceship with Negro leaders and students. Through his small apartment near Mornington Crescent in London have passed Negro leaders from Africa, the West Indies and the U.S., together with leaders from Asia and Europe. Padmore has long been a Socialist and when he lived in the Soviet Union was a member of the Comintern. He helped plan many of the relations between international Communism and mass movements in Africa and America. Later, living in Germany, Padmore edited *The Negro Worker.* He was imprisoned for criticizing Hitler's racial policies. He finally settled in England.

GEORGE PADMORE

PADMORE'S FORMER BOOKS have dealt with colonial problems in all parts of Africa. The present book brings many of the former studies up to date; but it is especially valuable for its study of "Pan-Africanism" and what its relation will be to Communism in future Africa. After a sympathetic account of many "Back to Africa" movements, particularly that of Marcus Garvey, Padmore traces the history of the "Pan-African" movement from 1911 to 1945.

This was not a definite body of doctrine in itself; but a series of congresses attended by representatives of Africans and descendants of Africans resident in various parts of the world. These congresses consulted and issued manifestos from time to time which set the world and Africa thinking. Since the first congress in Paris in 1919 to the last in Manchester, England, in 1945, these congresses have inspired nationalist movements in nearly all African colonies, usually in the shape of local colonial organizations which met, discussed and planned action. Padmore, declaring that imperialism "is completely rejected" by Africans today, says that "Pan-Africanism sets out to fulfill the socio-economic mission of Communism, under a libertarian political system" (pp. 21-22).

PADMORE ASSERTS that the Soviet Union recognizes "absolute racial equality between colored and white peoples"; nevertheless, he broke with the Soviet leaders when he came to believe that these leaders "looked upon black men as political pawns of Soviet power politics, to be maneuvered in Russian interests alone." This break apparently was not motivated by a disagreement with Communist doctrine. He did not support the enemies of the Soviets; he continued to insist that, "on the question of human rights for Africans, the Communists have never faltered." But Padmore insists on the "tactical mistakes and psychological blunders which Communist parties of the Western World have made in their approach to the darker peoples" (p. 289).

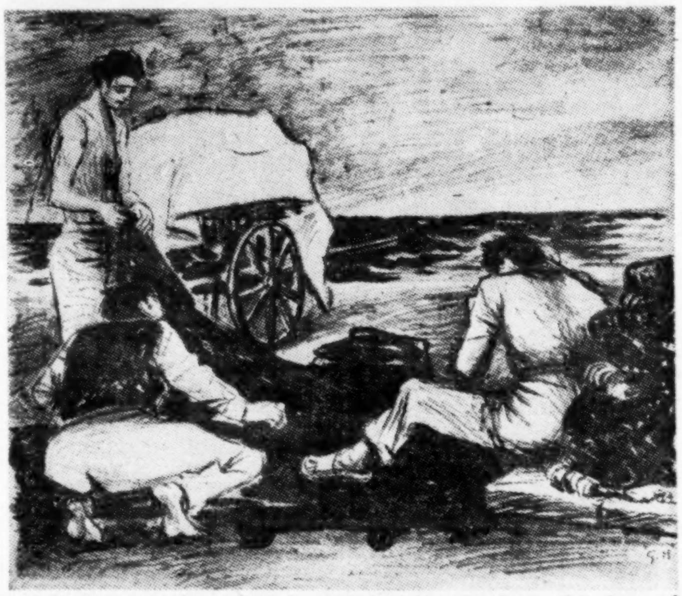
Padmore thereupon suggests that the eventual answer to Africa's plight is the nationalism which the Pan-African congresses initiated. Padmore declares that Pan-Africanism recognizes much that is true in the Marxist interpretation of history; that it seeks the government of Africans by Africans for Africans, with respect for others who recognize the Africans as equals: "Economically and socially Pan-Africanism subscribes to the fundamental objectives of democratic socialism, with state control of basic production and distribution" (p. 21).

I HAVE GREAT REGARD for Padmore's scholarship and character. But I fear that here his logic slips a cog. How can a national African socialism meet the danger of a rising black bourgeoisie associated closely with foreign investors? Padmore wants "an American Marshall Plan" for Africa; he welcomes British capital for the Volta dam. He thinks the Philippines are free. This seems to me dangerous thinking.

Padmore has said wisely: "Unless political power is used to liberate the African masses from their state of abject poverty, ignorance and disease, self-government is meaningless" (p. 374). Blessed is the land where by free elections, intelligent voters and deep ideals of justice, a socialist state can peaceably be established; where capital belongs to all; and workers receive what they need. But with a mass of sick, hungry and ignorant people, led by ambitious young men, like those today supporting tribalism on the Gold Coast and Big Business in Liberia, under skies clouded by foreign investing vultures armed with atom bombs—in such a land, the primary fight is bound to be between private Capital and Socialism, and not between Nationalism and Communism. It may be in Africa, as it was in Russia, that Communism will prove the only feasible path to Socialism.

Padmore's book is thoughtful and well-documented and should be read by all interested in Africa.

**PAN-AFRICANISM OR COMMUNISM? The Coming Struggle for Africa, By George Padmore. 463 pp. with index. $5. (American agency: Roy Publishers, 30 E. 74th St., N.Y. 21, N.Y.)*



"Fishermen," a lithograph by Gabriele Mucchi from the show of drawings by 14 contemporary Italians at The Art of Today Gallery, 118 W. 57th St., N.Y.C. Presents a good survey of trends among the younger realists, emphasizing the revival of interest in drawing as basic to the arts. Etchings, lithographs, crayon, charcoal and wash originals, from $60. Runs to Nov. 3.

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Albert Blumberg, Legislative Director, Communist Party
David Dellinger, Editor "Liberation"

2—Friday, Nov. 9, 8 p.m.
PROSPECTS FOR AMERICAN SOCIALISM

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, noted historian and Negro leader.
John Lewine, former director Eugene V. Debs School
Carl Marzani, Author, "We Can Be Friends."

3—Friday, Nov. 23, 8 p.m.
SOCIALISM AFTER STALIN

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F. G. Clarke, Socialist journalist and lecturer.
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